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Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History

DOI:

[10.1080/03086534.2017.1294242](https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2017.1294242)

Published: 01/03/2017

Peer reviewed version

[Cyswllt i'r cyhoeddiad / Link to publication](#)

Dyfyniad o'r fersiwn a gyhoeddwyd / Citation for published version (APA):

Rees, L. (2017). Welsh sojourners to India: the East India Company, networks and patronage, c.1760-1840. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45(2), 165-187.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2017.1294242>

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Welsh sojourners to India: the East India Company, networks and patronage, c.1760-1840

Between 1760 and 1780 alone, around 200-300 nabobs came back to Britain from India, many having generated a modest income, but some having amassed a vast fortune. Wealth could be generated through a variety of means, for example, through office holding, administration, trade, business or through gaining high ranking posts in the East India Company army. Some supplemented their incomes through illegal trade, which gave them a financial boost on top of their wages and Company pensions.¹ Renu Junejan describes the nabobs as 'a species of merchants and adventurers who have come to India solely to acquire wealth and who aim to return home as soon as they have acquired enough of it. They are temporary sojourners not settlers'.² Ultimately, the aim was to return home, ideally in a better financial situation than when they left for India. However, as highlighted by P. J. Marshall, whilst the majority of those who went to India wished to return home one day, on average, between 1707 and 1775, 57% of those who travelled to India died there.³ Sojourning to India came with risks and no guarantee of returning home. Nonetheless, the lure of the East and tales of riches enticed many an ambitious man to join the services of the East India Company.

Work has already been conducted into the Welsh link with the East India Company, with studies of the return of individuals, or collectively, East Indians into Welsh society.⁴ However, this article will explore in greater detail how Welsh sojourners facilitated their journey to India. Particular attention will be given to the familial and regional networks in operation, and the role kin and acquaintances back home could play, not only in the outward journey, but also in preparing for the nabob's anticipated homecoming. In conclusion, the issue of identity will be considered and how the sojourner engaged with the concept of home whilst away in India. A picture of the sojourning process shall be gleaned, principally through the study of personal correspondence, memoirs and diaries. Letters in particular are revealing of the influential nature of familial relationships and provide insight into the operation of networks of assistance.

In order to place the Welsh experience in its broader context, it must be emphasised that the number of East Indians hailing from Wales was never as high as

Scotland, Ireland or England, and the number of Welshmen appears low even after taking into account the relatively small population of Wales, in comparison with that of the other nations of the British Isles.⁵ Greater focus has been paid to Scotland's connections with India, perhaps as the presence of the Scots in India had been more noticeable than the Welsh. Attention has been drawn to strong patronage networks that encouraged the flow of educated men of middling or lower elite status from Scotland bound for India.⁶ Whilst the Scottish presence was keenly felt during the late eighteenth century, the English and Irish were however the most prominent nationalities in the service of the East India Company. Ireland appears less well represented than Scotland in academic studies, although figures show that the number of Irishmen serving in the Company's army grew rapidly during the eighteenth century.⁷

In studies of British expansion in India, references to the involvement of the Welsh are scant. Whilst this might suggest minimal involvement, it also highlights an under-researched area of study, as Andrew Mackillop suggests:

Few areas of Welsh involvement in the pre-1815 empire have been quite as neglected as the Asian hemisphere of expansion. With the exception of one or two conspicuous individuals like Elihu Yale, governor of Madras from 1687 to 1699 or the Anglo-Welsh "orientalist" scholar, Sir William Jones, founder of the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1784, Welsh sojourners in India have attracted remarkably little interest.⁸

There is however a finality in T. M. Devine's assessment:

The Welsh failed to make their mark in India. They were not an insignificant force in North America, but apart from figures like Sir William Jones, founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, their presence in the subcontinent was hardly noticed.⁹

Devine suggests that the Welsh failed to make a distinct impression in India as Welshmen. The one Welshman he does reference is only worthy of note due to his contribution to the development of Oriental studies. Low numbers notwithstanding, individual Welshmen did manage to facilitate journeys to India, and were a presence within the East India Company.

Case studies of several individuals have shown that some regions of Wales provided a cluster of East India Company men, several of whom returned to their native counties, most notably Breconshire, Radnorshire, Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. Many of these were local men returning home, but there were also a few newcomers, such as William Paxton, a wealthy Scot who purchased the Middleton Hall estate in Carmarthenshire c.1789. Following a lucrative career in India, rising to become Master of the Calcutta Mint, and establishing his own agency house, Paxton Cockerell and Trail, Paxton chose to invest in land and property in south-west Wales.¹⁰ There are also examples of Indian travellers from north Wales, including Robert Wynne, heir to the Maesyneuadd estate in Merioneth. In Denbighshire Lieutenant Thomas Griffith, third son of the Garn estate, and Colonel William Lloyd of the Bryn Estyn estate, like Wynne, also served in the East India Company army. Ultimately, it is nearly impossible to determine exactly how many Welshmen sailed to India.¹¹ Nonetheless, a key issue for consideration is not the number of Welsh sojourners, but the very fact that the Welsh were able to engage with imperial activities through the East India Company alongside the English, Scots and Irish. Surely the question should be: how did the Welsh find their way out to India? Ultimately, they were able to partake in imperial activities, and this must be through a system of networks.

The significance of Welsh networks in the outward journey

H. V. Bowen and Andrew Mackillop have drawn attention to the need for greater study of Welsh-East India Company patronage networks.¹² Networks were important, not only in facilitating the outward journey, but also in enabling the sojourner to plan his return and integration back home. As noted by T. M. Devine, a network of patronage was in operation in Scotland encouraging the rise of several Scots through the ranks of the East India Company.¹³ Bowen argues that in comparison, such networks were rarer amongst the Welsh, with several Welshmen having to independently seek their way into the Company with little support, unlike the Scots.¹⁴ However, this does not mean that there were no networks available to the Welsh. For example, Mackillop draws attention to the historic link between Wales and London. He highlights the opportunities for merchants and members of the elite to form contacts which created opportunities within the Company civil service.¹⁵ In addition to the London-Welsh networks, on closer inspection of the sources, it appears that familial and regional networks were

particularly influential in facilitating sojourns to India, and aiding the subsequent return home.¹⁶ Ellen Gill has highlighted the importance of patronage and friendship networks in operation in the Georgian navy.¹⁷ Her case study proves a logical comparison, focusing on a similarly hierarchical institution to the East India Company. Indeed, several of the practices and concerns she has identified can be seen reflected in the experiences of Welsh sojourners to India and their families back home.

Margot Finn has already drawn attention to the importance of familial networks to the Company and its servants:

Families mattered in Anglo-India, because kin relations were both a central socio-economic cause of imperial endeavour on the subcontinent and a vital socio-political mechanism by which the British East India Company managed imperial expansion during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁸

Familial networks could take a variety of forms, and could be regionally focused or extend from Wales to London, the power base of the Company in Britain. Thomas Parry from Leighton Hall, near Welshpool, presumably made his way to India through Gilbert Ross, a cousin who had married Parry's sister, Elizabeth. Several members of the Ross family had been to India, but whilst Gilbert Ross himself never went to India, he was part of the East India network which may have facilitated Thomas Parry's voyage to India, being a senior partner of Messers Ross and Burgie, East India merchants based in London.¹⁹ There are also examples of men being sent out to India to help family with enterprises. For instance, the aforementioned Thomas Parry requested his nephews join him as partners in his newly established private merchant house, David Pugh becoming involved in 1808, and seven years later in 1815 his brother Joseph also joining him in Madras. Parry, Pugh and Co proved to be a lucrative business venture, which formed due to the familial network.²⁰

In some cases, individuals followed family members overseas to India, thus setting up a system of chain mobility.²¹ For example, Jeffreys Wilkins, the younger brother of Walter Wilkins, left Breconshire for India in 1765, six years after his brother's departure, and became a Company servant in Patna. Walter Wilkins himself set up a strong network between mid-Wales and India, helping other men from the area out to India. He utilised his occupational connections, mainly his links with the

Company's Court of Directors, extending the familial network into a community network. Wilkins also began a chain network when he patronised Captain Frederick Jones of Pencerrig, another Breconshire man, who sailed to India in 1788 to serve with the Bombay Army.²² Later in life, Captain Jones subsequently used his influence as a former East India army officer to help start the careers of several local young men, amongst them his twenty year old nephew Humphrey Humphreys. Captain Jones had helped Humphreys clear his debts so that he could join the East India Company army. Wilkins subsequently became patron to Humphreys, thereby continuing the chain of patronage Humphreys' uncle had personally benefited from.²³

In highlighting the paternalistic nature of the Royal Navy during the eighteenth century, Gill stresses it was patronage and the backing of the right benefactors, as well as the forging of lucrative connections, which often led to the securing of promotions. She argues it was therefore not necessarily the professional qualities that led to success. This nepotistic trend can be seen reflected in the experiences of Company servants, for example, it was through familial connections and the benefaction of Sir Charles Oakley (then serving as Governor of Madras) that Robert Wynne managed to secure lucrative posts in the Company's army.²⁴ Robert Wynne made repeated use of his father's connections, writing in 1792 to request his father 'leave no stone unturned, as it will give me the rank of a Captain, if you succeed'.²⁵ At the same time Robert also asked his father to help with the promotion of his son, William Nanney Wyn. This example echoes Gill's analysis of the Royal Navy's patronage networks: 'families and individuals formed networks of patronage which they used and manipulated to achieve their desired goals'.²⁶

Networking operated differently depending on the social status of the individuals involved. The Company servant and free merchant, Joseph Fowke, made powerful connections when he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Joseph Walsh, who was a cousin of Lady Clive. The Clive family created an important and influential cross-border network of East Indians, which the Fowke family were to form a part of. Following Elizabeth's death, Joseph Fowke left his three young children in the care of their mother's family, principally their maternal uncle, John Walsh, a confidante of Lord Robert Clive. Walsh arranged the passage of his three wards to India, and the Company appointments of the two brothers. Francis journeyed to Bengal in 1773 to become a

writer and rose to become resident at Benares. On leaving India in 1786 he had accumulated a fortune in the region of £70,000 by trading in opium and diamonds. It is through Francis that the Welsh connection was forged, when he purchased an estate in Radnorshire, and built a country house called Boughrood Castle near a former medieval castle of the same name. A year after Francis arrived in India his brother Arthur also took up the post of writer on landing in April 1774. However, in comparison with his successful brother, Arthur's time in India was cut tragically short when he died of a fever in Madras in January 1775. Their sister, Margaret, as a young woman of eighteen, sailed for India in January 1776, and later joined her brother Francis at Benares in late 1783. Lady Clive was godmother to Margaret, whose education had been supplemented by the library of the Clives.²⁷ The experiences of the Fowke children illustrate the opportunities afforded by involvement in influential networks such as the one Clive had forged.

The practical operation of networking through correspondence

When considering the way networks operated, the importance of letter writing as the main method of communication should be emphasised. For many sons absent from home for years, even decades, separated from family by vast tracts of land and sea, letters were their sole method of communication. The process of composing and sending letters, and the anticipation of receiving replies, was therefore an important component in maintaining that emotional bond with home.²⁸ News of absent sons were eagerly awaited, the content of their letters disseminated amongst the family. Letters were read aloud and the physical letter passed from one family member to another. A system of personal correspondence maintained a sense of familial belonging. Mackillop explains how:

Personal correspondence enabled the maintenance of intimacy with family members, with written dialogue used to overcome vast physical separation. Above all, communication served a shifting set of objectives, enabling the sojourner to appear both exceptional and exotic while simultaneously transplanting him (and more rarely her) back into the domestic and familiar embrace of home and family'.²⁹

The sending and receiving of letters from home was a fraught process, with letters taking months to arrive and sometimes never reaching their final destination. Relaying pressing news was difficult, and one can only imagine the anxiety as family members eagerly awaited news of their loved ones. Robert Wynne wrote to his father William Wynne at home in Maesyneuadd in Merioneth in August 1795, lamenting how he had received no answer from home since June 1791, having written eight times, but to no reply, 'what can be the cause of so long a silence; God and you only know'.³⁰ Sometimes a delay in receiving a letter meant missed opportunities, for example, by the time Thomas Griffith of Garn read a letter from home informing him that his friend Henry Clough had arrived in Calcutta, Clough had moved on with his battalion to Barasat. 'I am now a little angry', wrote Griffith at the idea that both friends had been in Calcutta completely oblivious of the other's presence.³¹

Gill highlights the importance of letter writing 'in maintaining and nurturing paternal relationships' and allowing fathers 'to maintain an active role in parenting their sons as they embarked on naval life.'³² The same motivation is evident in letters from fathers to sons in India. Following the purchase of a Lieutenancy on his behalf, in July 1804 John Wynne Griffith escorted his then fifteen year old son Thomas to London to ensure all was in order before he set sail for India. He wrote home to his wife, Thomas's mother, in Denbighshire: 'I left Thomas in perfect health and in the highest spirits yesterday evening at North fleet, which is near Gravesend and he still continues highly delighted with the thoughts of his voyage.'³³ John Wynne Griffith was also in the process of purchasing a Lieutenancy for another son, John, who was stationed at Gibraltar, with money given by his mother-in-law, in addition to being actively working on securing a promotion for yet another son. The example of the Griffith family illustrates the intricacies of familial networks, the obligations of the patriarch, and how some family members contributed by advancing money, whilst others tapped into influential channels in order to seek recommendations.³⁴

Whilst letters reveal the familial support and guidance afforded to sojourners, they also nonetheless highlight the existence of family tensions. For example, stern parental advice was communicated by the Pembrokeshire tanner Thomas Phillips to his eldest son and namesake, Thomas Philipps, a Company surgeon who had travelled to India c.1768-70. Thomas Phillips the elder wrote to his son advising him whom to trust,

how to handle his finances, even warning him to be mindful of his brother John's trustworthiness. Although separated by several decades and geography, the father still felt duty bound to impart advice, especially when Thomas, in anticipation of his retirement and return home, was in the process of acquiring the Aberglasney estate in Carmarthenshire. Although John Philipps had played a prominent part in securing the deal, utilising his legal experience as a lawyer, and even lending some of his own money when his brother's money was slow to be remitted from India, his father still did not trust him. This distrust extended to his daughter and her children, provoking him to advise his nabob son to seek the help of a stranger to settle the Aberglasney affairs, '*and not his Brother* who would wish to grab the whole to himself and not his sister and her children at all'.³⁵

Whilst pressure to succeed in the East Indies was often self imposed, it could also come from home, adding to family tensions. These pressures often stemmed from financial concerns, but also betray aspirations of improving the family's social status. This concern can be seen when John Philipps wrote to his brother Thomas about the esteemed position of their family. The self-important tone of his letters, listing newly formed connections, is revealing in demonstrating his quest to raise the family's social standing. Commenting on the seal (a design incorporating the family arms and motto) on one of Thomas Philipps's India letters, John Philipps noted that it was 'very poorly and imperfectly done', declaring it needed replacing.³⁶ His pledge to secure a new seal shows a concern for public appearances. This was a family that clearly had aspirations of social mobility, having altered the spelling of the family name to suggest aristocratic roots. The nabob's success could have broader implications for his family, with the potential of raising the family's social status. Therefore, it is only natural that the family would become ambitious for their son or brother to return home from India with a fortune to aid the family's social climbing.

However, the family's ambition on behalf of the nabob sometimes jarred with his personal ambitions and desires. One can sense Thomas Philipps the younger's frustrations at his father and brother's handling of the purchase of Aberglasney. Both father and brother had gone to considerable lengths to secure the country estate for the son and brother they had not seen in well over thirty years. However, the relationship between the men was often strained. On several occasions Thomas Phillips the elder

and John Philipps disagreed with Thomas Philipps, with the latter pleading with them to cease their attempts at control. The father's overbearing and stubborn tone dominates the letters to his offspring, and in one particular letter he stated bluntly: 'I hope what I have set fourth will convince you of your Error on that subject and I know by experience I am right in my opinion'.³⁷

As illustrated, familial tensions were often created by ambition and financial motivations. However, when the well-being of the sojourner was at risk, the family network could provide practical assistance. This could be motivated by self-interest nonetheless, as in the case of the Wynne family of Maesyneuadd, who were concerned that Robert Wynne's poor mental health might prove problematic in transferring his finances home to Wales. William Wynne wrote: 'My brother Robert is very infirm both in mind and body. He has very considerable property, but owing to his very deranged state of mind, it is not probable that his family in Europe will see any of it'.³⁸ The shame of a mentally broken brother returning under the cloud of scandal (having fathered four children out of wedlock whilst in India), urged William Wynne to charge their brother, the Reverend John Wynne, to keep silent over the issue of Robert's predicament: 'I request you not to mention to *any person* the situation of our brother, it is very humiliating in its own nature, and we should act like fools if we made it more so by giving it publicity'.³⁹ Being the eldest son and heir, Robert Wynne's family were concerned about the fate of the Maesyneuadd estate. If married in India, his children would become heirs, if not, his brother John stood to inherit. The brothers combined efforts to finance William's voyage to India to bring the frail Robert home, but whilst the brothers were conspiring to declare Robert insane, he contracted a 'violent cold' and died in 1803 shortly after his return home.⁴⁰ His health broken by his sojourn, Robert Wynne appears in the letters as a pawn in an inheritance game played by his brothers.

The desire for wealth, and the fear of returning from India without a fortune, is a key theme which is also reflected in the letters of Welsh sojourners. Mackillop refers to the apparent paradox of concern and expectation found in the correspondence of Scottish families. Whilst anxious to see their loved ones return home safely, families encouraged sojourners to stay in the East until they had accrued sufficient wealth to enable them to return home with enough capital to financially maintain themselves and their family.⁴¹ Crucially, the sojourner himself also writes of similar concerns and

ambitions. Thomas Griffith had purchased lottery tickets in the hope of making a speedy fortune 'which will enable me to leave this unpleasant country like a Gentleman not as I came into it as a Beggar for I could call my self very little better'.⁴² Writing of his scheme to his mother, he remarked how he was 'as poor as a church mouse' but intent on winning the lottery and thus dramatically improving his fortunes.⁴³ Later in 1811 he voiced his fear that at the end of twenty-four years service in India he would be 'the same with respect to *rank and fortune*'.⁴⁴ Further lamenting it would probably be years before he was able to return home, Griffith considered his life had been 'a complete butchery of a man's time if I may use such an *elegant* expression'.⁴⁵ Similarly, Captain Thomas Jenkins, third son of Griffith Jenkins of Cilbronnau, Cardiganshire, wrote to his brother John that whilst he was in good health, the same could not be said for his financial situation, referring to himself as 'a disappointment in Trade'.⁴⁶ There is a clear sense that failure to generate a fortune equalled failure in the East.

Whilst luck and good fortune were key elements, men newly arrived in India often depended on letters of introduction. Patrons were able to help their ward make the right connections, and consequently, to put in place new networks on their arrival in the subcontinent. In February 1798, Captain Frederick Jones was helping his nephew Humphrey Humphreys prepare for his arrival in Bombay by writing thirty-five letters of introduction to be utilised as personal recommendations in India.⁴⁷ Letters of introduction written by influential persons were highly regarded, a fact Thomas Griffith realised a few years into his time in India.⁴⁸ As a cadet in the Bombay army, James Thomas of Lamphey Park received letters of introduction from two locally influential men, the Member of Parliament and landlord Sir John Owen, and Joshua Whitaker Paynter, a doctor at Pembroke.⁴⁹

John Wynne Griffith felt that he had provided well for his son Thomas when he embarked on his voyage to India in 1804:

I have been very fortunate in procuring for him about twenty letters of recommendation to the *very* first families at Calcutta, and those friends of mine who have been in India say that the hospitality of the Country is such that if a young man has ever *one* good recommendation from the concourse of Company he will meet, he will never want invitations.⁵⁰

The letters of his son show an acute awareness and preoccupation with letters of introduction, claiming 'nothing is to be had without Interest here more than any other place'.⁵¹ Soon after his arrival in India, Griffith found himself one of seventeen Company men invited to breakfast with Colonel Ochterlony, who had been appointed resident at Delhi following his role in the capture of the city and subsequent defence of the fortress and the region.⁵² Griffith watched two young men present letters of introduction to the Colonel, whom he described as having 'behaved [in] the most Generous manner as he gave to one 13 camels a fine horse and several other things, the other young man is at present rather ill he has taken him to his house and will not leave him proceed until he is quite recovered'.⁵³ This highlights the various methods of assistance that could be offered to newly arrived Company men, including material goods and protection, and comfort for the sick and vulnerable. It also illustrates the value of presenting letters of introduction to influential individuals who had connections and means to offer assistance.

In addition to the currency of letters of introduction, sojourners could take advantage of mutual acquaintance in order to secure promotions and favours. Whilst stationed at Penang Island in Malaysia (then named Prince of Wales Island after its occupation by the East India Company in 1786), Thomas Griffith had come into the recorder's favour, owing to their shared Welsh background, and their mutual acquaintance with the celebrated Ladies of Llangollen, Lady Eleanor Butler and Sarah Ponsonby.⁵⁴ A sense of shared acquaintances could create a sense of belonging and thus potentially lead to valuable connections. In 1791 the then assistant and factor at Basrah, Harford Jones entered into correspondence with the eminent Orientalist Sir William Jones. Harford Jones confided in his friend, Samuel Manesty 'I am not without hope but this may hereafter prove a circumstance of some benefit to us'. In light of Harford Jones's interest in acquiring manuscripts and jewels, it is likely that his new acquaintance with the renowned Orientalist was partly driven by his desire to acquire further manuscripts.⁵⁵ In return, Harford Jones offered his services and advice to Sir William, which was accepted. The former proceeded to guide the scholar on the best methods of travelling to Basra, offered advice on appropriate attire, and the hiring of servants.⁵⁶

Networks facilitating the return home

When considering the sojourner's return home, often the process of preparation for the homecoming had already begun whilst the sojourner was still in India.⁵⁷ The purchase of Aberglasney on Thomas Philipps's behalf (as mentioned, overseen by his lawyer brother, and supervised by his father, who showed a keen interest in the proceedings), began long before Philipps embarked on the voyage home. The whole process started when Philipps wrote to his father on 1 May 1799 to explain that he proposed to save his money until 1804 or 1805 when he hoped to return home from India on a Company pension of £300 a year. He wrote to his father asking him to enquire after a small estate generating around £100 or £200 per annum.⁵⁸ Aberglasney, described by Thomas Phillips the elder as 'one of the most desirable Estates in the kingdom', was deemed a fitting home for the returning son.⁵⁹ He was anxious that his son should purchase Aberglasney, as 'such a desirable place will never offer'.⁶⁰ The plan was set in motion, with John Philipps prepared to advance the money to secure Aberglasney for his brother until the latter's money arrived from India. This shows how family could play a proactive role in facilitating the nabob's homecoming, in this instance, by securing a physical home for him in anticipation of his return.

Another Company man who was making provisions for his return home whilst still in India was Captain Thomas Jenkins, who set aside £400 for his agent to fund the building of a home at Penrallt, Llangoedmore: 'Should I ever make a competency I would certainly reside there, and in my absence my wife will have a home of her own'.⁶¹ This not only highlights his aspiration to return home, but also his desire as a husband to provide a home for his wife during his absence on the subcontinent. The house, erected later in 1814 on the site as noted by Captain Jenkins, was described as commanding 'an extensive view of the coast of Cardigan Bay, and mountains of North Wales'.⁶² The return home appears always present in Thomas Griffith's nearly decade long correspondence, with frequent references to his plans to save money to pay for the return voyage, but also his desire to return home with a respectable fortune. Towards the end of his time in India, he wrote of practical considerations, such as how he planned to finance the passage home, which sadly never happened. He died in 1813 at the age of twenty-four.⁶³

As illustrated, networks were important in enabling the outward journey and leading to opportunities and appointments whilst in India. They nonetheless did not

disappear on the sojourner's return from the East. By helping relations, neighbours, friends, acquaintances and clients of similar social standing, important links were being forged, which also created a sense of obligation. Those individuals who had received help were obliged to return the favour in the future, be it whilst in India, or after their return home. On retiring and returning to Wales, Captain Frederick Jones worked tirelessly in promoting the political career of his patron, Walter Wilkins, even lending him £1,000 when he needed extra financial support when facing an upcoming election campaign to secure the Radnorshire county seat in 1796, a seat Wilkins held from then until his death in 1828.⁶⁴ As Gill explains, in relation to the networks of patronage in operation in the Royal Navy: 'These systems were cyclical, with favours often given in the hope and expectation that they would one day be returned. Above all, they were carefully developed and nurtured, for without such attention young officers [...] would struggle to advance their careers'.⁶⁵ Therefore, by facilitating the emigration process, and encouraging other sojourners, the returned nabob carved out a place in society back at home, ensuring that his status and position in society was strengthened and secured.⁶⁶ Mackillop draws attention to the homeward focus of the Scottish sojourner in the East:

Above all, mobility was predicated upon the hope of making a fortune and returning home with the means to secure or enhance the sojourner's social status. This objective of return ensured that patronage links, business, educational, social, and cultural networks were not aligned towards the sojourner's temporary destination, but rather worked towards "old world" goals'.⁶⁷

A common pattern that emerges in most migrant narratives is the tendency to socialise with those of similar backgrounds. This behaviour can also be seen amongst the Company men in India, especially as they were not looking to settle in India, seeing their visit as a temporary one, with the ultimate goal to return home with a healthy fortune. Therefore, maintaining contact with individuals from the same region was a method of retaining, and even forging new contacts, which could enable them to find their way home and integrate back into society. By forging friendships in India and on the return voyage, but also after settling back home in Britain, nabobs became part of the British East India Company community. On their return home, the East India

networks appear to have continued amongst several Welsh Company men, with the continuation of socialising with patrons, friends and acquaintances made in India. The men who returned from India often had fantastic and terrifying tales of their adventures overseas, and no one could understand what they had experienced and seen better than other East Indians. After all, as Tillman W. Nechtman explains, 'the experience of India was something that was integral to the lives of EIC employees who went to the subcontinent, in many cases for decades. It marked a significant segment of their lives.'⁶⁸

However, there were other motivating factors, apart from the social element, in maintaining contact with East India networks once arrived at home. Plugging in to the Company network once returned home could also be a way of securing posts, for example, it was hoped that the Company connection would help Julius Wynne's standing in society on his return to Denbigh, following fellow Company man Francis Fowke's appointment as Lieutenant Colonel of the Denbigh militia.⁶⁹ In addition, helping the next generation of emigrants to India by advising them and introducing them to the right people was a process that had a dual benefit. It created the impression that the return of the nabob had a positive impact on society, but it also helped fellow returning East Indians to make the right connections back home after so many years overseas. Mackillop draws attention to the importance of this 'relationship of mutual assistance' in highlighting 'how central homecoming was to Scotland's links with India'. He alludes to a more selfish aim: 'Ultimately, the wish for acceptance back at home explains why sojourners encouraged successive waves of migration to the East while also assisting the return of their peers'.⁷⁰

Home, belonging and identity

Issues of identity emerge when studying the Company networks linking Wales with India. It is difficult to conclude whether East Indians hailing from Wales identified with Wales, or whether they saw themselves as part of a larger English, or even British, East India Company. In the Scottish context, Mackillop argues 'Scottish sojourning in India is best understood by investigating how ethnic, national, regional, and kinship identities were mutually influential rather than somehow distinct from each other'.⁷¹

The concept of home appears in the narratives of Welsh sojourners, and in particular how home was perceived whilst the Welsh Company men were overseas. Comparisons between the geography of India and Wales in personal correspondence and memoirs reveal an almost idealised and romanticised longing for home. For example, Major William Lloyd of Bryn Estyn revealed his longing for home when embarked on an expedition at the foot of the Himalayas. He wrote in a later memoir how seeing the distant mountains 'brought back to me my schooldays among the purple hills of the Vale of Clwyd, and the freshness of the summer morning, so different from the Deccan... where there was not a blade of grass to betoken coolness'.⁷² Even on the outward journey to India, East Indians looked for comparisons with Wales. For example, on his arrival at Madeira, the Company chaplain from Cardigan, Benjamin Millingchamp, compared Porto Sancto to Wales, writing how 'the appearance of it is striking and may give a very good Idea of Wales to a person unacquainted with that Country'.⁷³ Also whilst in Madeira, Thomas Griffith sought comparisons with Wales, writing to his father 'the country is nothing but rocks and very high mountains, higher and steeper than any in Wales'.⁷⁴ Writing again to his father two years later, Griffith wryly comments 'my Battalion is going to Prince of Wales's Island in a few weeks so I shall be in a *Wales* once more'.⁷⁵ A sense of place and belonging can clearly be seen in these passages.

Considering this longing for home, it is unsurprising that the type of news sojourners desired was news of home. They could keep abreast of national and European news themselves by reading the English papers in India. What was more difficult was acquiring accounts of local news. Thomas Griffith wrote letters requesting copies of the Chester newspapers, stating he was not concerned about receiving the London newspapers as the London news was readily available in India. What Griffith desired was to know of north Wales and Chester, his more immediate home.⁷⁶ In a later letter he thanked his father for European news, but commented that by the time the letters arrived, their content was old news, lamenting that the only real news he desired would be from the pages of the Chester papers. He emphasised how he could readily find out about the European news, giving Nelson's death and burial as an example, but what he dearly wished to hear was the local news, and by being kept informed of home, retaining a degree of closeness.⁷⁷ Soon after his arrival at Madras, Griffith wrote to his brother George 'what news is there going on at home any thing particular besides

Bonepart coming'.⁷⁸ Whilst an European focus is clear here, a year later Griffith is preoccupied with news from Denbighshire 'as it is my only amusement to know how things go on in my dear Native Country'.⁷⁹ The longing for local news shows his desire to maintain the link with home, seeking comfort in stories of home whilst away in an unfamiliar country.

Sojourners could maintain a link with home via relationships and a network of correspondence with other Welshmen in India. For example, Thomas Griffith was in communication with a number of Welsh acquaintances also stationed in the subcontinent. Accounts of the progress and well-being of other Welshmen could be relayed home and passed on to family and acquaintances, and conversely news of home relayed back to India, showing how the network could have a far wider outreach. It is apparent in this example that sojourners relied on each other to share news of home. Later in 1813, Griffith told his father that he had started corresponding with Edward Parry, an Ensign, who was originally from Mold in Flintshire: 'I have opened a correspondence with him with the promise of letting me know how things get on in old Wales so I have to request that any particulars relating to his friends may be mentioned in your letters to me'.⁸⁰ The receipt of a letter from home (or indeed news from home via another's correspondence) assured the sojourner that they were in their family's thoughts, and maintained that emotional bond with home.

Issues of identity are however more complex. There are examples of individual Company men showing an awareness of a Welsh identity. In 1779, before embarking on the voyage east, Benjamin Millingchamp wrote from Portsmouth of the mood on board ship, remarking how 'our Welsh friends seem as impatient for seas as the rest'. Millingchamp explained how he 'paid 'em a visit on St David's day, which was spent very agreeably in company with Captain Owen Lloyd, Captain R. Edwards, Lieutenant Cole, Lloyd etc. I christened one of the soldier's children and in honour to the day he was called David'.⁸¹ What follows in Millingchamp's letters home are several updates on the wellbeing of his fellow Welsh travellers as they voyage to India. Another East Indian who displayed an awareness of a Welsh identity was Captain Frederick Jones. Whilst anchored for two weeks at Madeira during his voyage to India in 1777, the nineteen year old Jones shared lodgings with a Mr Clark. Jones described Clark as 'a Welsh gentleman, a batchelor [sic], very fond of his country men and a bottle of good old

wine'.⁸² This encounter appears to have created a sense of belonging, of immediate ease, which also generated affection for home. As already noted, Thomas Griffith's letters are revealing sources of his encounters with several Welshmen whilst in India. Significantly, he made note of these meetings, commenting on where the individuals hailed from and whether they knew the same people. Griffith shows an affinity to Wales and identifies with other Welshmen in India. He dined nearly every day when staying at Calcutta soon after his arrival in India with a Mr Davies, 'a Welshman but not from North Wales he comes from Cardigan'.⁸³ Later, when stationed at Prince of Wales's Island, he stayed at the house of a Mr Phillips, a Collector of Revenues, and judging by his name, speculated whether he was a Welshman too.⁸⁴ The prospect of being introduced to the Welsh wife of a fellow Company man pleased Griffith, as he rather self-assuredly declared 'nothing will give her more pleasure than to have a person from Wales to converse with... as I know there is no person fonder of talking about Wales than I am so it will be a mutual pleasure'.⁸⁵

In sojourner letters there are only isolated examples of the use of the Welsh language. This raises questions about the linguistic proficiency of Welsh Company men. With many hailing from the middling and gentry classes, how many did speak Welsh, not to mention correspond in Welsh? More research needs to be conducted into the role of language and identity in India, as it is apparent that individuals were aware of linguistic issues. For example, Thomas Griffith wrote 'sometimes when I talk a few words of the Welsh language I very often mix some Hindoostanee [sic] with them and sometimes am quite at loss as I have no Person to talk with in Welsh, but I very often sing Penills to my self which I have not forgot'.⁸⁶

There are instances of Welshmen referring to England in their descriptions of home, for example, an acquaintance wrote to the Wynne family of their hopes that Robert Wynne, with his health broken in India, would return 'to England'.⁸⁷ Some also write of their 'return to England'. This could either be as a first port of call, before making the final leg of the journey to Wales, however, it might also signify the nabob seeing himself as part of a wider British, but Anglo-centric group. This is unsurprising, as the British East India Company retained a strong English identity, even with the greater influx of Irish and Scots into the Company from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.⁸⁸ When writing home of the customs in India, Thomas Griffith, in discussing

dining habits, wrote of 'the English way' and noted how some traditions were 'the same as in England', referring to England as home in this context.⁸⁹ England and Wales could be used interchangeably, for example, when lamenting it would be many years again before he returned home, Wales and England are both used interchangeably to refer to home.⁹⁰ In a later letter, Griffith seems to conflate the two nations, observing 'when I left England or rather I should say Wales'.⁹¹ He later refers to his slim prospects of being able to return and settle 'in old England or dear Wales again'.⁹² Mackillop considers this blurring of identities and its ensuing complexities in relation to the Scots: 'As their time abroad lengthened, Scots absorbed the rhetorical assumption that England was the home of all Britons in India. The meaning of England in this context is ambiguous'.⁹³ The same can be said of the Welsh in this instance.

Whilst references to England and Wales were used interchangeably, there is also evidence of a sense of a broader European identity. Awareness of a European identity can be seen when his Lieutenant Colonel wrote how Captain Frederick Jones had informed him of his determination to retire from service and 'to proceed to Europe'.⁹⁴ Again, this could be as a first port of call en-route to Wales, but could also signify a return to western civilization – white, Christian, European. Discussing the delicate nature of acquiring manuscripts in a letter to his friend Samuel Manessy, Harford Jones referred to himself as 'an European'.⁹⁵ It is highly likely that the term was used in order to differentiate himself from the native population in Persia, to reinforce his otherness to those who held the manuscripts in an attempt to highlight how difficult it was to win over trust, and ultimately, to secure the manuscripts. Here, consideration of a Welsh, or even British identity, does not factor. It is very much the concept of a divide along ethnic lines. This is not an isolated example, as later in the following month, in a letter to the Oriental scholar, Sir William Jones, Harford Jones writes: 'This is my lot at present to be placed in a situation which I believe in this country has never been before enjoyed by a European'.⁹⁶ Although both Harford Jones and Sir William Jones had a common Welsh connection, the former born in Presteigne, the latter the son of a Welshman resident in London, they make no comment in these letters to their shared identity.

Welsh sojourner identities were multi-layered and varied to suit different environments and encounters. Whilst they felt an affinity with the fellow Welshmen they encountered in India, Welsh nabobs also saw themselves as part of the larger East

India Company family, which was Anglo-centric in focus. It is telling that England and Wales are used interchangeably in their correspondence, reflecting this Englishness. However, they also aligned themselves with other white Europeans in India, presumably as a device to set themselves apart from the native population. This is reflective of the fluid nature of identity at a time of great changes to concepts of national identity. It appears that a distinctly Welsh identity could exist alongside this British identity. Shared Welsh, Scottish, English and Irish experiences led to shared concepts of identity, and as explored by Linday Colley, empire played a key role in keeping the union together and solidifying British identity.⁹⁷

Conclusion

This article has highlighted the importance of networks of patronage and analysed how they helped facilitate the Welsh sojourner's outward journey to India, whilst simultaneously aiding their return voyage and integration back home in an invariably changed society. Indeed, it was the familial and regional networks which were at the core of the Welsh Company men's experiences. Family in particular was a key component of this network, arguably more significant than any national Welsh-East India Company network. It can be argued that in a paternalistic society, family identity could take precedence over national identity. No matter how fluid regional or national identity could be, family identity was set in stone. It was the only collective that mattered in terms of assisting, nurturing and supporting the sojourning son or brother. Familial networks facilitated the journey to the East, but also provided an emotional link with home, through the relaying of familial, friendly and local news. They could also provide material support, which included financial aid and the securing of letters of recommendation, which were seen as a form of currency of influence. In some cases, the family rallied around the sojourner at a time of need. Whilst familial networks helped enable the sojourner's voyage to India, and sustained him (more often than her) whilst overseas, they could also pave the way for his return home. The material evidence of these networks show the strength of familial bonds and loyalties, but correspondence also reveal the aspirations of the members of the networks. Families often had shared aspirations, and a crucial component of these familial networks was ambition. A lucrative career in the East could lead to self-improvement and an elevated social status. Success could have far-reaching implications for the wider familial network, with more

than just the returned East Indian benefitting from the wealth brought back from the East and the potential for social betterment. Margot Finn explains how familial networks created arenas of political influence, facilitated economic growth, nurtured the development of identity and provided emotional sustenance and support, therefore 'kin relations provide an especially useful optic for historians of empire because the historical family functioned across the full spectrum of human activities'.⁹⁸

¹ Philip Lawson and Jim Phillips, "'Our Execrable Banditti': Perceptions of Nabobs in mid-eighteenth century Britain', *Albion*, xvi, 3 (Autumn 1984), p. 227.

² R. Juneja, 'The native and the nabob: representations of the Indian experience in eighteenth-century English literature', *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, xxvii, 1 (1992), p. 184.

³ P. J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1976), p. 218.

⁴ Notably, H. V. Bowen, 'Asiatic interactions: India, the East India Company and the Welsh economy, c.1750-1830', in H. V. Bowen (ed.), *Wales and the British Overseas Empire: Interactions and influences, 1650-1830* (Manchester, 2011), pp. 168-92; idem, 'John Jones (1751-1828): citizen of Swansea and the world', *Swansea History Journal*, xviii (2010-11), pp. 33-38; D. Leslie Davies, 'Sir William Lloyd of Bryn Estyn in the Hundred of Bromfield and Nagpur in the Deccan', *Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions*, xxv (1976), pp. 13-50; idem, 'Sir William Lloyd of Bryn Estyn in Denbighshire, part 2', *Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions*, xxvi (1977), pp. 6-48; K. Jones, 'John Lloyd (1748-1818): an adventurous Welshman, part 1: the ancestors, the East India Company and the early voyages', *Brycheiniog*, xxxiii (2001), pp. 59-92; idem, 'John Lloyd: an adventurous Welshman, part 2', *Brycheiniog*, xxxiv (2002), pp. 67-118; idem, 'The personal life and private trade of Captain John Lloyd', *Brycheiniog*, xxxvii (2005), pp. 45-80; idem, 'Captain John Lloyd and Breconshire 1796-1818', *Brycheiniog*, xxxix (2007), pp. 61-111; Andrew Mackillop, 'A "reticent" people? The Welsh in Asia, c.1700-1815', in H. V. Bowen (ed.), *Wales and the British Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830* (Manchester, 2011), pp. 143-67; R. C. B. Oliver's articles in the *Radnorshire Society Transactions* which present an edited collection of the diary of Captain Frederick Jones; S. Van Dulken, 'Lamphey and India', *Journal of the Pembrokeshire Historical Society*, v (1992-93), pp. 51-54; idem, 'The Voyle family of Pembrokeshire and India', *Journal of the Pembrokeshire Historical Society*, v (1994-95), pp. 47-60.

⁵ Andrew Mackillop however suggests that comparing the Welsh experience to the Scottish or Irish experience is 'only partially helpful', as the population of Wales was much smaller; therefore 'there is instead a growing recognition that attention should focus on the ways in which "Welshness" might have played a part in the development of the empire and helped to shape the experiences and identities of those participating in British activities' (Mackillop, 'A "reticent" people?', p. 158.).

⁶ There are a number of scholarly works on the Scottish dimension within the East India Company, notably T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815* (2003); idem, 'Scottish elites and the Indian empire, 1700-1815', in T. C. Smout (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1603-1900* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 213-30; Andrew Mackillop, 'Europeans, Britons and Scots: Scottish sojourning networks and identities in India, c.1700-1815', in Angela McCarthy (ed.), *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities Since the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2006), pp. 19-47; idem, 'The Highlands and the returning nabob: Sir Hector Munro of Novar, 1760-1807', in Marjorie Harper (ed.), *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 233-61.

⁷ See Michael Holmes and Denis Holmes (eds), *Ireland and India: Connections, Comparisons, Contrasts* (Dublin, 1977); Barry Crosbie, 'Ireland, Colonial Science and the Geographical Construction of British Rule in India, c.1780-1870', *The Historical Journal*, lii, 4 (December 2009), pp. 963-87; idem, 'Networks of

empire: linkage and reciprocity in nineteenth-century Irish and Indian history', *History Compass*, vii, 3 (2009), pp. 993-1007.

⁸ Mackillop, 'A "reticent" people?', p. 145.

⁹ Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p. 260.

¹⁰ For more on Paxton, see W. G. J. Kuiters, 'Paxton, Sir William (1743/3-1824)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53259?docPos=2> (accessed 19/07/11); L. A. Rees, 'Middleton Hall and Aberglasney: Two Carmarthenshire landed estates and their families, c.1780-1875' (PhD, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 2009).

¹¹ To highlight this ambiguity, H. V. Bowen draws attention to the *Index of Welshmen in the East India Company army compiled by the Welsh family history societies in London* (1997), whereby 3,223 men are stated to have joined the Company army between 1753-1860; however, doubts are raised concerning the validity of this figure, as many of the men were counted more than once. The issue of identity is also troublesome, with many Welshmen registered as English nationals on joining the Company. This conflation of identity, the Welsh being absorbed by the English, shows how the Welsh are often lost in Company records (Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, p. 274.).

¹² Bowen, 'Asiatic interactions', pp. 168-92; Mackillop, 'A "reticent" people?', pp. 143-67.

¹³ T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815* (2003); idem, 'Scottish elites and the Indian empire, 1700-1815', in T. C. Smout (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1603-1900* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 213-30.

¹⁴ H. V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: the East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833* (Cambridge 2006), p. 274.

¹⁵ Mackillop, 'A "reticent" people?', pp. 145-6.

¹⁶ As already mentioned, regional patterns can be identified, with clusters of Company men hailing from particular regions. For example, the county of Breconshire saw the return of five East India Company men, John Lloyd, Walter Wilkins and his younger brother Jeffreys Wilkins, Captain Frederick Jones and Major David Price. There was also a concentration of East Indians hailing from Pembrokeshire. During the early decades of the nineteenth century a number of men left the parish of Lamphey for India, and several of the Morgan family of Cleggars also travelled to the subcontinent. Also in Pembrokeshire, the Voyle family provided several generations of men to the service of the East India Company. Steve Van Dulken, 'Lamphey and India', *Journal of the Pembrokeshire Historical Society*, v (1992-93), p. 51; idem, 'The Voyle family of Pembrokeshire and India', *Journal of the Pembrokeshire Historical Society*, vi (1994-95), pp. 47-60.

¹⁷ E. Gill, '"Children of the service": paternalism, patronage and friendship in the Georgian navy', *Journal for Maritime Research*, xv, 2 (2013), pp. 149-165.

¹⁸ Margot Finn, 'Anglo-Indian lives in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, xxxiii, 1 (2010), p. 49.

¹⁹ G. H. Hodgson, *Thomas Parry: Free Merchant Madras 1769-1824* (Madras, Bangalore, Ootacamund, 1938), pp. 9-10; P. K. Law, 'Parry, Thomas (1768-1824)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/60927> (accessed 26/08/11).

²⁰ Mackillop, 'The Welsh in Asia', p. 160; Hilton Brown, *Parry's of Madras: a Story of British Enterprise in India* (Madras, 1954), pp. 1-49.

²¹ In her study of the family in eighteenth-century England, Naomi Tadmor shows how kinship ties could survive when members migrated overseas, and how a system of chain migration emerged as kin followed one another. Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 113-114.

²² Bowen, 'Asiatic interactions', pp. 174, 176.

²³ Oliver (ed.), 'The diary of Captain Frederick Jones Part 1: 1789 to 1799', p. 51.

²⁴ Bangor University Archives (BUA) Maesyneuadd 36. Letter from Robert Wynne, Ganjam to his father, William Wynne, Maesyneuadd (20 February 1791).

²⁵ BUA Maesyneuadd 37. Letter from Robert Wynne, Ganjam to his father, William Wynne, Maesyneuadd (30 December 1792).

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- ²⁶ Ibid; E. Gill, "Children of the service", p. 157.
- ²⁷ National Library of Wales (NLW). Ormathwaite papers FE 5/1. Memoir of Lady Margaret Walsh, written by her son, Sir John Walsh; T. H. Bowyer, 'Fowke, Joseph (1716-1800)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/63560> (accessed 04/12/12).
- ²⁸ For more on the importance of letters to Wales and the migration process, see B. Jones, 'Writing back: Welsh emigrants and their correspondence in the nineteenth century', *North American Journal of Welsh Studies*, v, 1 (Winter 2005), pp. 23-46.
- ²⁹ Mackillop, 'Europeans, Britons, and Scots', p. 22.
- ³⁰ BUA Maesyneuadd 37. Letter from Robert Wynne, Madras to his father, William Wynne, Maesyneuadd (1 August 1795).
- ³¹ NLW Garn Estate Records. FPG 1/7 (folder 1). Letter 37: Thomas Griffith, Calcutta to his mother (11 June 1806).
- ³² Gill, "Children of the service", p. 149.
- ³³ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 1). Letter 1: Thomas Griffith to brothers George and Robert Griffith, and John Wynne Griffith to wife Jane Griffith (26 July 1804).
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ Carmarthenshire Record Office (CRO). Aberglasney Estate Records: Phillips/Philipps family 3: MSS 19/515. Letter from Thomas Phillips the elder, Perthcerein, to John Lubbock, London (15 October 1805). Hereafter, *italics* represent emphasis in original source. Thomas and his brother John changed the spelling of the family name to the more aristocratic 'Philipps', whilst their father maintained the traditional spelling 'Phillips'.
- ³⁶ CRO Aberglasney 3: MSS 19/514. Letter from John Philipps, Llandeilo to his brother Thomas Philipps (29 June 1801).
- ³⁷ CRO Aberglasney 3: MSS 19/515. Letter from Thomas Phillips the elder to Thomas Philipps the younger (3 November 1805).
- ³⁸ BUA Maesyneuadd 59. Letter from William Wynne, Oxford Coffee House to Rev John Wynne, Belmont (10 November 1801).
- ³⁹ Ibid; Maesyneuadd 60. Letter from William Wynne, Oxford Coffee House to Rev John Wynne, Belmont (12 November 1801).
- ⁴⁰ BUA Maesyneuadd 101. Letter from Rev John Wynne, Belmont to his brother Captain William Wynn, Oxford Coffee House, London (12 March 1803).
- ⁴¹ Mackillop, 'Europeans, Britons, and Scots', p. 36.
- ⁴² NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 1). Letter 33: Thomas Griffith to his brother George (20 March 1806).
- ⁴³ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 1). Letter 34: Thomas Griffith to his mother (21 March 1806).
- ⁴⁴ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 2). Letter 97: Thomas Griffith to his brother George (2 December 1811).
- ⁴⁵ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 2). Letter 103: Thomas Griffith to his brother George (20 April 1812).
- ⁴⁶ NLW MS 1897 E iii. Letter from Thomas Jenkins, Calcutta to brother, John (no date).
- ⁴⁷ Oliver (ed.), 'The diary of Captain Frederick Jones Part 1: 1789 to 1799', p. 51.
- ⁴⁸ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 2). Letter 63: Thomas Griffith to his father, John Wynn Griffith (17 January 1809).
- ⁴⁹ Van Dulken, 'Lamphey and India', p. 52.
- ⁵⁰ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 1). Letter 1: Thomas Griffith to brothers George and Robert Griffith and John Wynne Griffith to wife Jane Griffith (26 July 1804).
- ⁵¹ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 1). Letter 44: Thomas Griffith to his mother (8 March 1807).
- ⁵² A. P. Coleman, 'Ochterlony, Sir David (1758-1825)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2008) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20492> (accessed 16 April 2016).
- ⁵³ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 1). Letter 27: Thomas Griffith to his brother Robert (20 October 1805).
- ⁵⁴ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 2). Letter 67: Thomas Griffith to his father, John Wynn Griffith (14 March 1809).

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- ⁵⁵ NLW MS 4904 E. Letter book (1791-92). Copy of letter from Harford Jones, Scherauz to Samuel Manesty (17 July 1791).
- ⁵⁶ NLW MS 4904 E. Letter book (1791-92). Copy of letter from Harford Jones, Bagdad to William Jones (12 June 1792).
- ⁵⁷ Mackillop, 'The Highlands and the returning nabob', p. 241.
- ⁵⁸ CRO Aberglasney 3: MSS 19/514. Letter from Thomas Philipps the younger, Berhampore, to Thomas Philipps the elder (1 May 1799).
- ⁵⁹ CRO Aberglasney 3: MSS 19/514. Letter from Thomas Philipps the elder, Pembroke, to Thomas Philipps the younger (12 November 1801).
- ⁶⁰ CRO Aberglasney 3: MSS 19/514. Letter from Thomas Philipps the elder, Pembroke, to Thomas Philipps the younger (19 November 1801).
- ⁶¹ NLW MS 1897 E iii. Letter from Thomas Jenkins, Calcutta to his brother, John (no date).
- ⁶² T. Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the County Families of Cardiganshire* (1872), p. 197.
- ⁶³ M. Chadwick, 'National identities in the literary and manuscript culture of the north Welsh gentry, c.1776-1817' (PhD, Aberystwyth University, 2012).
- ⁶⁴ Oliver (ed.), 'The diary of Captain Frederick Jones Part 1: 1789 to 1799', p. 46.
- ⁶⁵ E. Gill, "'Children of the service'", p. 157.
- ⁶⁶ Mackillop, 'The Highlands and the returning nabob', p. 242.
- ⁶⁷ Mackillop, 'Europeans, Britons, and Scots', p. 19.
- ⁶⁸ Tillman W. Nechtman, 'Nabobs revisited: a cultural history of British Imperialism and the Indian question in late-eighteenth-century Britain', *History Compass*, iv, 4 (2006), p. 652.
- ⁶⁹ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 2). Letter 80: Thomas Griffith to his grandmother (13 May 1810).
- ⁷⁰ Mackillop, 'The Highlands and the returning nabob', p. 245.
- ⁷¹ Mackillop, 'Europeans, Britons, and Scots', p. 21.
- ⁷² Davies, 'Sir William Lloyd of Bryn Estyn', p. 30.
- ⁷³ NLW MS 13933 E Millingchamp letters. Letter from Benjamin Millingchamp to his father (15 April 1779).
- ⁷⁴ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 folder 1: Letter 12: Thomas Griffith to father John Wynne Griffith (29 September 1804).
- ⁷⁵ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 folder 1: Letter 35: Thomas Griffith to father John Wynne Griffith (19 May 1806).
- ⁷⁶ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 folder 1: Letter 38: Thomas Griffith to grandmother (14 July 1806).
- ⁷⁷ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 folder 1: Letter 39: Thomas Griffith (no date or recipient).
- ⁷⁸ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 folder 1: Letter 20: Thomas Griffith to brother George (27 February 1805).
- ⁷⁹ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 folder 1: Letter 30: Thomas Griffith to father John Wynne Griffith (7 January 1806).
- ⁸⁰ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 2). Letter 119: Thomas Griffith to his father, John Wynne Griffith (12 July 1813).
- ⁸¹ NLW MS 13933 E Millingchamp letters. Letter from Benjamin Millingchamp to his sister Peggy (5 March 1779).
- ⁸² NLW MS 23794C *A Brief Account of the Tullaugaum Expedition from Bombay; and Likewise of the Sieges of Bassien, Arnoll, Callian, and Cananore, on the Western Side of India, During the Course of the War, Commenced the 21st of November 1778: Extracted from the Journal of an Officer who was Actually Employed on those Several Services* (Brecknock, 1794).
- ⁸³ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 1). Letter 23: Thomas Griffith to his father (23 April 1805).
- ⁸⁴ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 1). Letter 56: Thomas Griffith to his father (14 June 1808).
- ⁸⁵ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 2). Letter 67: Thomas Griffith to his father, John Wynne Griffith (14 March 1809).
- ⁸⁶ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 1). Letter 33: Thomas Griffith to his brother George (20 March 1806). 'Penills' or 'pennill' (the plural being 'penillion'), which are Welsh songs.
- ⁸⁷ BUA Maesyneuadd 57. Letter from Mr Jones, to Rev John Wynne, Belmont (20 March 1801).
- ⁸⁸ Mackillop, 'Europeans, Britons, and Scots', pp. 28-29.

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- ⁸⁹ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 1). Letter 41: Thomas Griffith to his brother George (20 July 1806).
- ⁹⁰ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 2). Letter 68: Thomas Griffith to his brother George (28 March 1809).
- ⁹¹ NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 1). Letter 56: Thomas Griffith to his father (14 June 1808).
- ⁹² NLW Garn FPG 1/7 (folder 2). Letter 66: Thomas Griffith to his grandmother (21 January 1809).
- ⁹³ Mackillop, 'Europeans, Britons, and Scots', p. 29.
- ⁹⁴ NLW C. L. J. Humphreys Family Papers 17. Letter from Lieutenant Colonel of Artillery, Bombay (5 July 1787).
- ⁹⁵ NLW MS 4904 E. Letter book 1791-92. Copy of letter from Harford Jones, Scherauz to Samuel Manesty (20 June 1791).
- ⁹⁶ NLW MS 4904 E. Letter book 1791-92. Copy of letter from Harford Jones, Scherauz to Sir William Jones (17 July 1791).
- ⁹⁷ For further analysis of British national identity see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (Yale, 1992).
- ⁹⁸ Finn, 'Anglo-Indian lives', pp. 49-50.